## Message Text

## CONFIDENTIAL

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-10 ISO-00 OES-07 DLOS-09 ACDA-07 CG-00 DOTE-00 OMB-01 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /116 W

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R 301326Z AUG 77 FM AMEMBASSY MADRID TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1537 INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOOT AMEMBASSY RABATT

CONFIDENTIAL MADRID 6416

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 TAGS: PFOR, SP, SS

SUBJECT: SPANISH OFFICIAL ON SAHARA SITUATION

REF: MADRID 6390

1. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF ON THE RECENT VISIT HERE OF MAURITANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MOUKNASS (REFTEL), THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S ACTING DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR AFRICAN AND CONTINENTAL ASIAN AFFAIRS (CAJAL) REVIEWED SPAIN'S POSITION ON THE SAHARA, BEGINNING WITH A RE-AFFIRMATION (AS NOTED REFTEL) OF CONTINUING SPANISH ADHERENCE TO THE MADRID AGREEMENTS AND SPAIN'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 26, 1976 TO THE UN.

2. ON THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE CORTES MIGHT BRING ABOUT SOME CHANGE IN SPANISH POLICY, CAJAL ELABORATED THAT IT WAS IN FACT HARD TO SEE JUST WHAT CHANGES MIGHT BE WROUGHT. DENOUNCING THE MADRID AGREEMENTS WOULD BE "DEMENTED," HE SAID, UNDERCUTTING THE PRINCIPLE OF RESPECT FOR INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AND RE-OPENING THE WHOLE QUESTION CONFIDENTIAL

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OF SPANISH RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE SAHARA, SPAIN WAS
ALREADY ON RECORD TO THE EFFECT THAT THE INDICATED
CONSULTATION OF THE SAHRAOUI PEOPLE HAD NOT YET TAKEN
PLACE, A POSITION WHICH ALGERIA WISHED TO SEE SPAIN
EMPHASIZE JUST AS MOROCCO WANTED IT DOWNPLAYED; BUT MOROCCO
WAS UNLIKELY TO GIVE UP ITS STANCE MERELY BECAUSE THE SPANISH
CORTES SAID IT SHOULD. FOR THAT MATTER, SAID CAJAL, BEING

WHERE IT WAS, MOROCCO SIMPLY COULD NOT GIVE IN. FURTHERMORE, POPULAR SENTIMENT WAS BEHIND HASSAN ON THIS ISSUE, AND WOULD SUPPORT HIM DOWN THE LINE.

- 3. THERE WAS, IN FACT, LITTLE PROSPECT FOR SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE SITUATION. NONE OF THE PARTIES WAS EITHER DISPOSED TO GIVE IN NOR ABLE TO IMPOSE ITS VIEW, CAJAL CONTINUED. HE ASSUMED (OR KNEW) MOROCCO WAS DOING WHAT IT COULD DIPLOMATICALLY TO HEAD OFF THE LUSAKA SUMMIT, BUT SO FAR THE MEETING APPEARED TO REMAIN ON THE TRACKS. JUST WHAT IT WOULD RESULT IN WAS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE, WITH SOME SORT OF FORMULATION REGARDING SELF-DETERMINATION ONE LIKELY POSSIBILITY. FURTHEREMORE, CAJAL SAID, THE UN COMMITTEE OF 24 HAD SPECIFICALLY HELD OFF TO ALLOW THE OAU SUMMIT TO TAKE PLACE. ONCE IT HAD DONE SO, THE COMMITTEE WOULD PRESUMABLY TAKE THE SUBJECT ON, AND IT WAS LIKELY TO GIVE IT RATHER CRISPER TREATMENT THAN THE OAU HAD.
- 4. MOROCCO, OF COURSE, UNWILLING TO GIVE IN, SEEMED TO CAJAL MOST LIKELY TO DIG IN ITS HEELS IN THE FACE OF ANY FOREIGN PRESSURE. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE SAID, HE WAS HIMSELF CONVINCED THAT MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA WOULD WIN ANY HONEST CONSULTATION OF THE SAHRAOUI PEOPLE.
- 5. IN THE MEANTIME, CAJAL WENT ON, WITHIN THE TENSE STABILITY REPRESENTED BY THE PRESENT SITUATION THERE WERE CONFIDENTIAL.

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SOME ELEMENTS OF CHANGE. WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEW MONTHS AGO OF A JOINT MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN MILITARY COMMITTEE, FOLLOWED BY THE PROVISION OF MOROCCAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND THE STATIONING IN MAURITANIA OF MOROCCAN PERSONNEL -- AND AIRCRAFT -- HE SAID, MAURITANIA'S CAPICITY TO RESPOND TO POLISARIO ATTACKS HAD INCREASED APPRECIABLY. PREDICTING SUCH ATTACKS, OF COURSE, REMAINED IMPOSSIBLE.

- 6. FINDING THE POLISARIO WHEN IT DID NOT WANT TO BE FOUND WAS SCARCELOY EASIER, CAJAL CONTINUED. UNDER THE GUISE OF MANEUVERS A MOROCCAN FORCE OF SOME 12-15,000 HAD RECENTLY CARRIED OUT A SWEEP OF THE SAHARA (THIS WAS THE FORCE, HE SAID, WHOSE CONGREGATING IN THE TINDOUF AREA HAD GIVEN RISE TO REPORTS OF A MASSING OF MOROCCAN TROOPS THERE). THEY HAD MADE NO CONTACT, THUS LENDING APPARENT FUEL TO THE PROPAGANDISTIC CONTENTION THAT THE POLISARIO WAS A MYTH.
- 7. MOROCCAN INTEREST IN TINDOUF REMAINED A POSSIBLE TROUBLE POINT, ACCORDING TO CAJAL. THERE WAS A TRADITIONAL CLAIM TO THE TERRITORY, AND PORTIONS OF THE MOROCCAN MILITARY EVEN NOW FAVOR DIRECT MILITARY ACTION TO SEIZE IT. THE LOCATION NEARBY OF SAHRAOUI REFUGEE CAMPS LENDS

ITS OWN DIMENSION TO THE SITUATION, CAJAL ADDED, BUT HE GAVE NO INDICATION THAT HE THOUGHT ANY MOROCCAN ACTION WAS IN THE OFFING. STABLER

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